consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inches, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the hunting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, villagers going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a muttering of lackeys with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of rock-cut stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the rural Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French ormolu-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed one to one. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A note or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

L 779 582 K 156 563 779 [167]

enforced. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowandus has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is long term as effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the First World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Turkish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

K 156 563 [571]

2: Masters E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandiz
Yezidis MH10

K
771
578

wā must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is Ja'nnatu Rīkhā 'ala dīnak, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

Y
186
241

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

Y
[142]
Y
[582]

K
775
779
175

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shī'ah ("party," from Shī'at 'Alī, "the party of 'Alī"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural populations of southern Iraq. In southern and northern

Iraq the former is represented by most of the Arab groups, the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict between the two, often with violent political expressions, is much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the discussion is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as shaving the beard with knife, are condemned by the Kurds alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they despise circumcision, in the Middle East purely Arabic and Sagrudi, as *Farsi*, "Persian," despite the fact that the practice seems to have no record in that country. One might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a gathering in Rowandus the investigator, on being informed by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces, incautiously inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on the highest levels of society, there are few marriages between Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, or both, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to these those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtained a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsmen is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowanduz, as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generally

of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a synopsis of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the Muslim ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the Quran ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammad, iqra, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammad in suras (a word originally meaning a course of stones or brickwork, or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The commandments are now, without exception, Muslim, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussion to follow.

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergence of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Until the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowanduz belong to the party of the Sunna ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Kurdish peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Sunnis are in sharp sectarian opposition to the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1500-1736), which insists on the primacy of

At the noon
prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, 787
and between the second and third rek'as the mulla may deliver (577)
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to (65)
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 785
some part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowanduz are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Ayah mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 787
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowanduz

district here made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1954, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Mohammed Aala, who have completed the task here been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rwanda, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kwibuka below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate even in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many nobles or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of Findiko made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocracy or officials in Rwanda itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Hajj or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages,

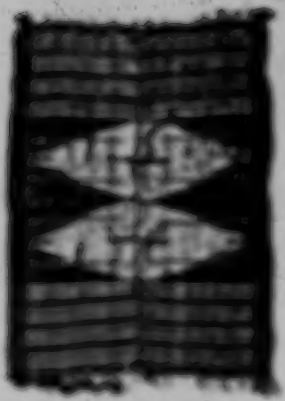

Fig. 15.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in several colours. (E. 4294). Yapurara.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet rested on the toes of their long boots, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either rested round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of greeting God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the area of the birds and they then outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening lines of the Koran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then turned forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the entire prayer comprises four sets, viz. ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Seydlitz, the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 1-5, that is to say six positions, constituting a rak'a, whereas CANT allows seven positions to each rak'a, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each rak'a.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four rak'a, was usually said on the flat roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three rak'a, took place down in the stone-walled central room at about 5 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four rak'a at 6-10 p.m.

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic feature of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually, never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the one might be doing cleaning himself, with the only prayers being in the room placid as one of the compared smoking rooms, the room could be full of talking, non-thinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin of interrupting the worshipper.

Lane[4] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Cairo there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 41. Woman praying in the home on a straw mat in the inner room. Arabia

given ourselves, which is the evenings afterwards with those of the men within the periods of the women and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I was engaged in prayer was 17 years old, the 5-12 years old I did not see girls. The humble village women said her prayers at the place where the finished water, where there has an opportunity to perform the small ablutions. The sentiment of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing dirt clothes, the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has on a veil, two over the water hands, or the outflow of the spring from the retaining place, on a barrier with subsequent washing of the garment parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can enter into the large flat cross, usually to be found in retaining places, provided as a substitute for the proper ring wall of stones like ones.

The women on the observed urban outflow of Nsibidoumi did not pray. I only came across one exception to this, my interpreter's youngest sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the mentioned outflow, though the coming husband, like herself, was a modern school teacher, prayed indeterminately as all events to the time preceding her wedding.

Among the mentioned women of Nsibidoumi was also pray and personal religious observance, as all except in regard to the afternoons, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer ring could be lost to guests, opportunity provided for ablutions, and then prayer recorded to the direction of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village environment or Tripoints were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an huge engineer living in one of the houses in the Ombon Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden taps at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day served as dining, living and reading and room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest rooms by the men. The story to give alms, I was practised in the environment village home at Tripoints. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by the hand being placed on the shoulder of the elder, both had eaten and then passed into their hearing bags, which they carried either on the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were [illegible] entities from the family's empty vessels before continuing on another their wandering from village to village. The women in the chief's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not obligated to any restrictions in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the latter's hand gifts, even though the men of the home, the chief's and his younger brother, who also lived in the home, were away.

The mode of this obligatory giving of alms in Nsibidoumi is that permanently established beggars persons to exist on the charity of the men in the street. When a child lying in her bag a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black man or the women in the recess in the bags of benefiting from the acts of many of passers-by. In the counterpart of the western itself, a Nsibidoumian girl was dispatched every day by her parents to what looked like a European grandchildren, with a bowl between her differential hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the blame of beggars mentioned, they were able to engage better on the alms obligations ordained by the Quran than they would if they

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

1.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal colonial boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus encompassed in the four Iraqi sanjaqs which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (37% of the rural population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (57%) and Sulaimani (98%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent qadhas of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians recently settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Kupri, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 950,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half millions; there is reason to think that the real offshoot of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all these countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

W. J. Edmonds was formerly in the British Foreign Service. In 1932 he was appointed first adviser under the Iraqi Government and from 1933 to 1947 was adviser in the Ministry of the Interior. He is now lecturer in Kurdish at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

resembling the dances of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so sensuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork, while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians were the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Ju, who impressed himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were also sent beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

A. Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really caused the Kurds to the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rowanduz and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Hirki, with their flocks and animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the open grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to populate summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, resulted in spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is